1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kûrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 242 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [243] called *ôjaflt*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

● 241 The dress of Kûrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Guguret or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *kûk*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *kûrdî*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kûrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tchoradia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [245] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kûrdish lady. Notwith-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1860) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the 291
baldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at
night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form,
but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the
tchorakkie, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with
white stripes round the bottom, the corners being
knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small
cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the
face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kûrdish women 291
do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In 542
large towns like Sulèmanieh the ladies wear a blue
checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like
the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however,
seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest
rank, who may wish to pass through the streets
incognito; and the lower class women generally go
about with their faces uncovered. The village women
veil themselves when they leave their houses; and
the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their
faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Menservants 291
are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms 579
occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors
are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom 181
of manners, Kûrdish women conduct themselves with 542
the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither
the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the for-
wardness too often seen in the behaviour of the
Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, 434
exceptionally high among the races of the country.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then 535
the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the 585
part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the notes of the *tekepee*, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, [292]
hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the enclosure, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The tune was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their [293]
homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Sulimania."

The Kûrds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage 585
contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imâm. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of [713]
his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Sultan Murad and Siso the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kûrds lead their sheep in flocks into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Siso, of the tribe of Bera-Berukân, led his sheep to Constantinople for sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his *lala*,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Siso was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kûrds, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Siso so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his *lala*, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The *lala* replied that it was a Kûrd from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his *lala* in their dervish disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him. He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, *lords* (father) dervishes." The Sultan and the *lala* sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Jules, *Journal, &c.*, p. 62.

[2] Tutor or confidential attendant. This name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its arrival an event of great joy in his household. 45

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter. 294 29 443 [439] 296 [521]

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

bazaz of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazaz, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a men's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jayjani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 796

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. 264 574
When there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the diwankhana or a room neighboring the kitchen. 264 516 It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too voraciously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, 291 in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291 ●
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [178]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any
Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes,
if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in
centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change
bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled
with the impact of European civilization.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsmen of Rowanduz,
dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a
pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist
by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees.
A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, and the next
mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar,
closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons.
The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which
extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the
elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned
back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow.
For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied to- [515] [579]
gether behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both
shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest,
of European style and fastened with a number of buttons,
is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either
identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it
is not exposed to view in outdoor attire.

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

both of which are worn in Rowanduz with no apparent regard to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have wide bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Kurdish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as in the Turkish shirwal still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a doubled-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rashid Agha of Jindian, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of locally woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue. 291 [294] [462]

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above,

low-cut European shoes or the woven sandals with rubber soles. Stockings are by no means thought necessary, although the villagers almost always appear in a coarse domestic product which is worn according to the taste and resources of the individual concerned. It is commonplace for poorer men of the town to go without, but this is not confined to the class. The waist is bound with a sash, a rolled strip of material one or two feet in width, and perhaps four or five yards in length. The cloth itself is often a flowered cotton print, a typical example showing red blossoms outlined in white on a black background, and is tied by holding immobile in front of the torso a foot or two of one end of the goods around which, tautly circling and recircling the waist, the longer part is entwined in a series of loops until the cloth is exhausted and the ends may be tucked under the resulting girdle. This sash is used to carry a number of items, money, cigarettes, and the like, inasmuch as the only other pockets usually found in the costume are in the vest or the military-type jacket. A leather belt is often buckled over it, particularly when weapons are carried. 291 [482]

The headdress is composed of an embroidered skullcap and two rolled scarves bound about it to form a turban. Although the embroidered cap, known throughout Iraq, was present in the town in Ottoman times, the older type was of felt and peaked, with a tassel ornamenting the top. This has now disappeared, replaced by the round embroidered form, manufactured commercially outside the area. The scarves are

also imports, but their fringes must be prepared by local seamstresses. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one next to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hang down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the same as used in the chafiya or head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a solid grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Rowanduz, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The tarbush, the red felt Turkish "fez," has a limited and curious survival in Iraq, among the imams or priests of the Shiite (Muslim) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a mountain tribal group, the Skikak. In the Rowanduz district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

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Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the seat beside him, wearing only his cap. In his own house, particularly during summer, the sash, jacket, and outer trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned, few townsmen remain completely uncovered except when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the turban, a large part of the day. 291

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a dishdasha (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length cassock of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a simple turban of a single scarf would flatly about the skullcap. Over the cassock is sometimes seen the 'aba or rida, a loosely-fitting collarless mantle with short, full sleeves, woven in wide wool mesh and decorated with a thicker border of gold and silver thread. The mullas or town priests always use this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the incursion in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets, and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth jacket is not an uncommon sight in a shaykhana. They are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and 177 291 [793]

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. 177

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding 291
the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Feisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [668]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 291
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [431] [735]
to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi (from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an official or an officer has entered a higher class of society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing, say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing as far as the government service and the governed are concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

forbidden in the Rowanduz area and an investigation of their sources might prove embarrassing to the government itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms is open to some question, in view of the high price of illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were witnessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to shoot) which gave evidence of capability. 411 [656] [136] [656]

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it is important to remember that three different categories must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials, Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler stations, although the difference in dress between the latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes, the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, although in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear. Over the drawers full trousers of dark-coloured cloth, drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in the attire of village women. To build up the outer garment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long, 291

open sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put on, although in the case of village women only one or two outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For a headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291 ●

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear uncovered before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also 291 562 [754] [576] [609]

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their station does not warrant it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from Hashid Agha of Jindian. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The townswomen of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled; and the old, heavy covering of Ottoman times has been replaced completely by the lighter pacha, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end in the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and drawn across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face. 291 562 [177]

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of 292

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowanduz the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

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Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and the kabkabs. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

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rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Erbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the pacha or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but most have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear [301] [751] [754]

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective _haleti_, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We say," said an Effi, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissensions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowandus area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowandus only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Issa'il

advise or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalil Khoshnaw, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalil Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xwuhki mirî, "sister of husband," rather than mirîtiwhk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [536]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [537]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even they are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is re- 593
turned for some reason to her parental home, it is as 577
much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. 554

In all of the situations outlined thus far there 291
has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal 882
uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not per- 574
mitted to associate freely with all of the women of the 602
house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. 835
The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even 605
alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [514]

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, 854
can be carried about easily by this last. The child is [352]
laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps
of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece
of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the
urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin.
In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze
to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-
piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, [751]
verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces
of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded orna-
ments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple 291
dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a 854
little apron. No undergarments are in use. The
shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like
those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia,
much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, 553
an event which is not marked in Rowandus by an elaborate 852
ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend,
and entertains them in the guest-room with light refresh-
ments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is
placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name
selected previously by one of the family. He holds the
child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear.
He gently intones what was described in Rowandus as the Iman
(Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

855
[291]
il. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing
ferentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the
s, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The elder 864
ldren teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs
public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six 863
ths, by the repetition of a nonsense word which
nifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use
a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its
r of water is learned. After two or three years the
her and others of the family begin to punish a child
soils himself. For six months after birth the nails 302
a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped 855
the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the
ls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained
ficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are [804]
rced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of 852
r and six years is circumcision, which, although not 304
tioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attri-
e of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in
andum tells a son who has undergone the operation.
erally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of
appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the
s in the town who are in need of it. The operation
lf is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering
wish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the
ointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

346 [352] [353] [217] [718] [576] [291] [353] [793] [789]

ted and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their [792]
ovenants. They are also supposed to be able to "read" [789]
those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their [158] [755].
. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which
ain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar
elieved to confer the power of snake-charming. They
other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in [304]
ous ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa
bited his forearms which were covered with scars from
demonstrations. In addition to these displays and
r tumultous meetings, the darwishes commonly practice
e magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the
part engaged in everyday employment.

The darwishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. [792]
ji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but dis- [291]
ed the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap
a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the
ag. On formal errands, for example, when he was called
the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon,
ji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a [293]
ring-stick or staff. Some darwishes bind their waists [788]
the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji
tafa's darwish activities, observed in his house, con-
ted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine
aps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the
ditional badge of the darwish) made of a large hollowed
d with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and
attered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd [212]

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195 648 by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Shereef of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Branting line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hukmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stoakes[13], and Edmonds[14].

184 648 My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoybun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realised from that quarter.

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562 291 What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to snare away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

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Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married women fetching wine leaves. Serkan.

and chins ..."[18]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[19]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[20], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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[123]

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und geniessen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten anders morgenländischen Völkern"[21]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[22]. Some insistence that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[23], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"[24]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a smaller treatment ... than is seen among Mussleman races"[25]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

[493]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

[622]

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

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The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

[142 516 252 291 412 415 302]

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rban milieu. Uneducated married woman
cated girl taking tea in the courtyard.
ai.

Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be d under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such rela- imited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can ated to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, on different principles.

village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes zawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry f Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given ing, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These oups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my ter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters tended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

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part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub- l zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a inless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th . The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part ogether in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat f the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications t of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water- s. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round in flaily-heaped corn. Tepasuwa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *lonjav*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[45], threshing car[46] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross-seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[47]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

According to Hay[48] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tweilla.

of this, with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones[6]. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Sulaimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, *zill*. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by directing an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form raw peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

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342 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do homes this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[9]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[9] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, *labun*. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargalu, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[10]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 19. Wall of mud bricks. Tepsawa.

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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topsawa.

The most important "piece of *furniture*" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *kilâ*[39], and what we call orients[1]—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fûrš*, (E. 2257)[40] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *mahwa'a* or *sînî*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *haywân* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bâwbâw*, 0,333 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not immortalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the erratic light from the lamp. In the clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth. 369 342 [363]

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 35 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home. 592 [595]

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut 342 361 369 341

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a complete room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, rolls, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[1]. The dough, *hawir*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ard*, sifted through a coarse sieve, water, *ave*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xêr-dân*,[2] of knotted or woven material (E. 2207). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish (*tasê*) on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2202) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumê*, about the size of a chunked fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways, the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a pit-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough shown is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

Fig. 11. Cows at well in dairy are without bars behind. Tripoli.

It was noted that the first water strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in rapid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[1]. Milk could be eaten with sliced[illegible] in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It would also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[2].

Milk diluted with water becomes sakeeb[1], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. Milk is also the material from which butter, ḥimi, is churned[2]. Every day at 3 a.m. in the villages, water is poured into the churning sack, mašk, made of a whole goat-skin turned in salt bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the milk down the neck opening of the skin, which is then knot even, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[3] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

the wall of the entrance or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard, it would also be hung up on a tripod, rapid, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 30 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[28] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly until the impurities evaporate. In this clarified state it is called *nsigiri*[29].

Fig. 34. Woman churning. The butter sack, made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Tongo-ma.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

village environment. In Tzipanos the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle remain home in the morning. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. Milk is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the vestibule or on a beam

Fig. 16. Woman grinding before the fire, Tzipanos.

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Fig. 28. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Tsepawm.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the house. Whenever grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in procession. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. Where the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Bekhlie was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various houses in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the house and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Bekhlie the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

and every other lowermost, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the weaft. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the middle beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a groove in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened or will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The weaft is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *wakii*, (E. 2340), 0.307 m. long, containing an iron spool, *fâka*, round which the yarn is wound[1]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kwâno*, (E. 2351), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (*bangale*) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of *kwaa*. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of *kwaa*. Sangaia.

Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 46). Sangelo.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the fiber is used both by men and women. Sulaka.

done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Akrun Kurmanj, for the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (3 yds.) and trousers (4 yds.), respectively, it is "planed". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2230), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp folds in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 45)".

The production of clay vessels. There are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type is sold in the city of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2199) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced at home in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of especially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[1]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a loop handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Women's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are: crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Women's dress, *fûstan*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture.

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *derâ'i-tirâk*, (E. 2333, E. 2338) are about 1 m. long and about 2.50 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and rest on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. x 0.25 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[1].

Shift or petticoat, *kin-i-tirâk*, (E. 2334) is about 0.80 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the woman sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the upper white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *kirâ'i*, (E. 2335, 2340, 2350), is 1.20 m. to 1.30 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a poncho gown[2] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[3]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or caftan, or both) and wound around the under arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[4]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *sexmê*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material bent in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

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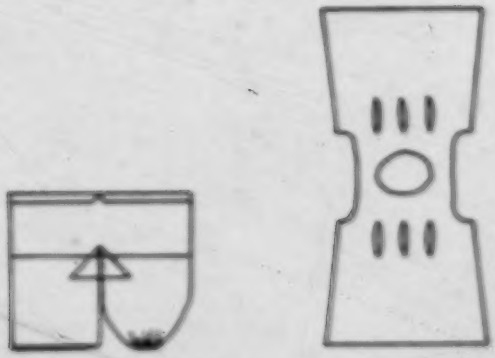

Fig. 49. Diagram. Cut of woman's trousers (E. 2355). Scale 1:30.
Fig. 49. Diagram. Cut of woman's shift (E. 2354). Front and back in one piece. Scale 1:30.

Fig. 50. Women's trousers (E. 2355) of pink taffeta and white cotton, shift (E. 2354) of pink artificial silk.

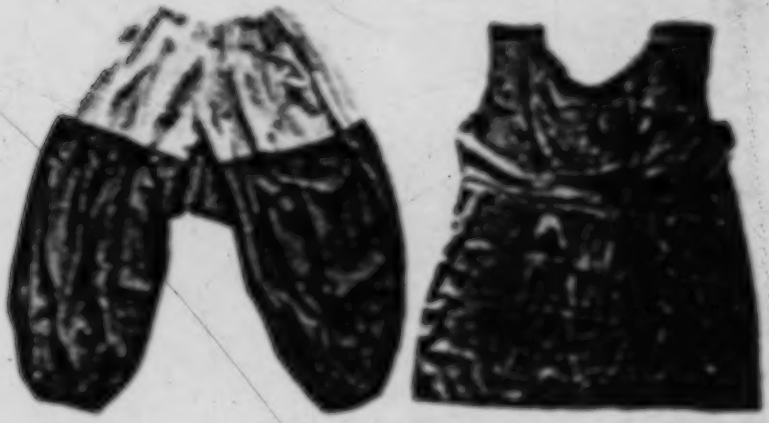

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Fig. 11. Women's kaftan (E. 2330) of pink chiffon with white flowers. (Cf. diagram fig. 12).

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Fig. 12. Diagram
Cut of material
(E. 2330). Scale 1:20.

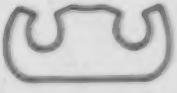

Fig. 13. Waistcoat (E. 2330) of rose brocade lined
with white cotton.

391 In a few instances the bodice front is of finer material than the back, which is intended to be covered by other articles of clothing. (E. 2341).

The *salwar*, *salvar*[1], is a little longer than the waistcoat and has long, rather narrow sleeves. In cut it is a cornered poncho *salwar*[2] with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length; no shoulder seams, straight side seams. The material coloured brocade lined with white cotton, slightly padded between lining and outer cloth.

The *sallaw*, *kawa*[3], (E. 2342, E. 2301) is 1.36 m. to 1.43 m. long and a span of 1.56 m. to 1.60 m. In cut it is a poncho *sallaw*[4] with inserted side gores. Narrow sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length. Along the vertical opening at the front of this overgown-like piece of clothing two pins are added which overlap each other when the garment is put on; it thus has a "false crossed opening"[5]. The lowest part of the flowing side seams are open, and at hip height there is a vertical hook into a pocket and also serves to take the lower corners of the bodice front when the calico is pinned up in order not to drag. The material is brocade interwoven with metal, lined with white cotton stuff. Between the cloth and the lining there is quilted padding[6].

The cap, *kʷlāw*, (E. 2344) is a black felt cloth-cap with slightly sloping sides, containing black stitching overhead. Gimpe along the edge. Its height is c. about 0.10 m., diameter about 0.20 m. At the top of the crown a silver coin is sewn from which to hang the neck veil. At the side is sewn the one end of a chin cranial the chin, about 0.30 m. long, consisting either of glass beads or of coins placed quite close to each other. The chain ends in a big metal hook that is set firmly into the cap. The cap may

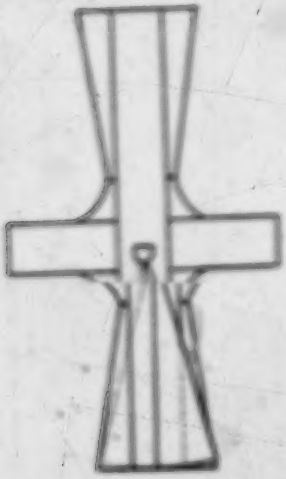

Fig. 61. Diagram. Cut of the *sallaw* (E. 2342). Scale 1:30.

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Fig. 11. Cotton (E. 242) of white brocade, woolled and quilted, lined with white cotton.

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The cap may

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have a small amulet pocket sewn on to it, and genuine or imitation jewels. In a provincial town like, say, Halebja, the cap (E. 2352) was not concealed by any form of wound turban and could be seen all over with large Persian silver coins overlapping each other like tiles (E. 2296). At most other places, however, the turban and brow cloth belonged to the headdress.

The neck veil, *dawnê*, possibly also *khwarê*[1], (E. 2342) is triangular. It is attached by a loop in the middle of the long side to a coin on the top of the cap, and covers the neck. The point of the neck veil hangs down the back, whilst the two long narrowing ends are crossed in front, led over the shoulders, and tied together at the neck. The material is coarse, coloured cotton tulle[2].

The shoulder cloth (E. 2343) is rectangular, 0.96 m. x 0.96 m. There are 27 tassels in a row on each side of the two opposite sides. The cloth is placed over the shoulders so that the tasselled sides hang vertically down the back[3], the two upper corners being pinned together under the chin[4]. The material is unlined brocade.

The turban cloth[5], *akhêlak*, (E. 2346), is 1.50 m. long, sewn of two layers of narrow blue strips of brocade. In the centre it is 0.13 m. wide and tapers away to both ends, the one side being straight, the other forming a concave arc. Along the straight side 22 tassels are distributed. The turban cloth ends as a double plait at both ends, being finished off with tassels. Its full length is then 2.30 m. The turban cloth is folded double along its length with the tassels outside, and is wound like a broad band twice around the cap. The centre of the cloth is placed on the neck. It crosses over the brow and is

Fig. 16. Neck veil (E. 2342) of light blue cotton tulle interwoven with silver threads. Fastened to the cap by a loop, hanging down the back, whilst the two narrowing ends are crossed over the breast and tied behind the neck.

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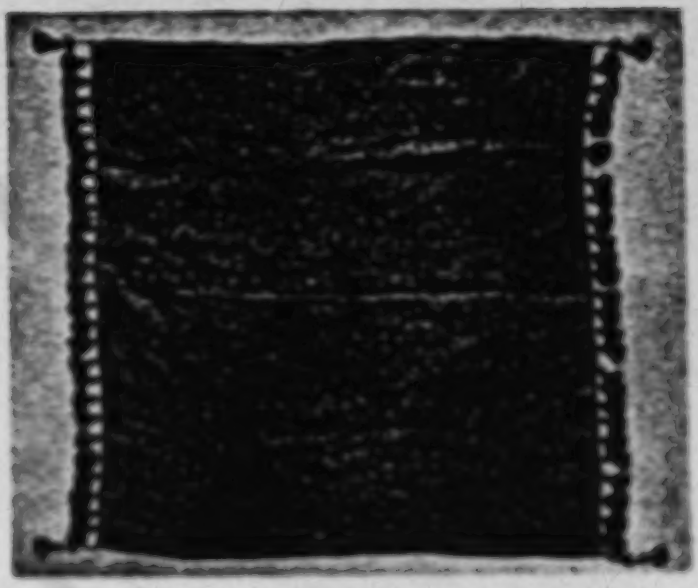

Fig. 11. Rectangular cloth (E. 2342) of kurtosis. The seams of the two square cottons are tied together and the cloth hangs around the shoulders covering the back.

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headed together at the neck so that the plaits with the tassels hang down the back outside the neck veil. The material is brocade. The turban cloth has salmet around the head in circles[1], and outside is headed[2] the forehead cloth (E. 2347), 0.83 m. × 0.80 m., made of thin silk, black with brown and white patterns, a quite different colour scheme from that distinguishing the other elements of the dress, where indistinct, crimson and turquoise predominate. It is folded diagonally and tied shawlwise over the brow in the opposite direction to the turban cloth, is knotted at the neck, the ends being crossed under the veiled cloth. Outside the turban, pinned salmet, are chains of jewellery inset turquoise and Persian coins.

The head cloth or head veil, *shyeh*, (E. 2337, E. 2340) is 1.80 m. to 2.00 m. long and 0.75 m. to 0.84 m. wide, of thin gauze, white or coloured, sometimes and hanging loose. A married woman places it over the turban, whilst an unmarried girl wears it direct on the hair where it constitutes her only headgear. Scarves or kefis can be worn, but are not essential. The value of a married woman's dress of this kind, apart from jewellery, is about 30 Dns. = £10.

There was either no or footwear, if the women prefer to go bare-footed as is often the case at home, or wooden clippers with a heel and a strap over the instep, *qabqab*, (E. 2338) 0.23 m. long, or perhaps

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Fig. 10. The elements of the married woman's turban arrangement: cap (E. 2344) of black felt with chain (E. 2346) of blue glass beads, turban cloth (E. 2345) of brocade with tassels, and headband cloth (E. 2347) of black, white, and brown patterned cotton silk.

embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, gumlike oxygoal, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left feet are identical. European footwear of "Boni"'s ranks, from high-heeled black patent leather to common shoes, was also seen. Women who were unseen in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture.

Elements connected with fabrics. External garment and veil in Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, abā-w-pilli, which completely conceals both the face and body.

The face veil, pilli, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.40 m. × 0.5 m., made of thin, black, homespun-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole fac.

The cloak, abā, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.35 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.30 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk gauze-veil, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running over the finished garment. In this fashion

[text continues top of p 95—Qualter]

Fig. 20. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, abā, dressed for leaving the house. Sulaimani.

Fig. 48. Diagram showing the cut of the abā (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the fold. Scale 1 : 50.

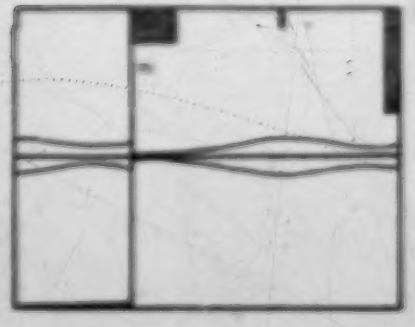

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Fig. 61. Vest (E. 2775) and skirt (E. 2776). The vest and the construction of the skirt are indicated by means of white lines.

the cloth is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the women sew in a tuck along the transverse seams. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and shape it trailing at the sides. The cloth is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled around the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from below to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 391

Loose from Western culture. Long nightgown with pulled sleeves and sometimes an appertenant jacket both of rose silk. In used as home dress, in error at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dressing or blouse and skirt. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 391 (417)

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress items from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village environment. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, cloth or gathered, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, sarkan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also shoulder cloth, turban cloth and loose cloth, worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and printed nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 349 325 391 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is not set customs that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the district's home in Tagawra called out enough and indeed in sunlight-green brocade trousers, with gathered of the same colour, and black voile kirtle with garden of gold thread. She called the garment for absolutely magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and best worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 77) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads 391 [513]
combed to a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and loose cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, cloth and trousers easily be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. [396]
The most recent in European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based [411]
on magnificent material, which consisted in splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which later would be considered essential in western European [illegible]
were always worn under the kirtle, the cloth also. Only the padded outer gowns of clothing were put on or taken off in sudden or warmer weather.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hans4 MA11

147 147

Fig. 42. Village aristocracy. Married women's dress, front and back. Tegueste.

The clothing elements discussed with Islote: the black face veil and the black shift, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Salamanca or places further distant like Kabuk and Mirsal.

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja as turban, but the whole shift cap covered with silver coins (E. 2002) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant women did not lie in the form or number of the garments, but in their colour and materials. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of homespun cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Tegueste and Balyan are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermillion, and in Mirsa Rassam black, very oil, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver chain[9]. During work at Tegueste the lower

peculiar to that village, is always used by the present women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this headdle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Darkon whilst threshing tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Tegucara, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long Little Wind up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver 'leaves'[1]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hasanmun[2]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant women dons the black veil and shift when visiting towns.

The educated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[3]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the house, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and shift. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser cords round her hips—an arrangement she transferred to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer bodies of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disdained the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (C. 2301) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black shift my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

891
342
585
199
357
142

Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 71/13). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

369
391
1971
[illegible]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassieres and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and shirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

Female clothing elements distributed over the four female milieu 79

wearing gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The unadorned urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloth, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, the costume is very compound on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the unadorned urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 44. Ordinary general environment, Sulaija.
Fig. 45. Unadorned urban environment, Sulaimani.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		x		x		x	x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x			x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x		x					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x		x					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x		x	x	x	x

[illegible] among women distributed over the four female rallies

[illegible]

Turkish women and the Kongolese women with spoke, respectively. Turkish female dwarf is more clearly predicted by the other form of Pentos women's costume (cf. S. 1479). According to Wolsey (1991, 2, 210) the Indic costume in Kerala has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1880. The new type of Pentos female dress with sparrow trousers and "halter" shirt is a quite different type (cf. S. 2375).

The Cuna, in fact, retired and described by Fielding, form the same type of crimson-bordered costume, with a variation like the Kurdish, though the crimson are sparrow and the rabbit has three of the Kurdish costume to hang last. Fielding (1952, 1/4, 123, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of women's dress and their distribution

Number	Elements	Village community		Rural areas		Suburban cities		Industrial cities	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
1	Trousers, shift, briefs, sarapanes, jackets, and clothes	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
2	Caps, wool cloth, shoulder cloth, mufflers, and fancy cloth		+		+		[illegible]		+
3	Wool cloth	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
4	Belt or belt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	Footwear	[illegible]	+			+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
6	Trunk and skirt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+
7	Fabrics material			+	+			+	+
8	Silk, undercut silk, and kerchief	+	+		[illegible]	+	+		
9	Dress design					+	+		
10	European garments					+	+		

(+) The element appears consistently among females.
(+/-) The element appears sporadically.
1. Is used in all combinations by both unmarried and married. However, is not counted in the elemental urban suffixes.
(2) In the head dress of the married women in all combinations. Not counted in the elemental urban suffixes.
(3) In supplementary to the headdress of the married women and sometimes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not counted in the elemental urban suffixes.
(4) Daily wearers in the elemental urban suffixes.
5. Not counted in the village community suffixes or in the combinations urban suffixes. Completely lacking in the Kurdish village suffixes.
(6) Found alone in the two urban combinations and worn by village women who only from the village.
(7) Used mainly in the common village and combinations urban combinations.
(8) Silk brocade is characteristic of the village ceremony and elemental urban combinations. Can be worn by and with young married women in the Kurdish village suffixes.
(9–10) These changes characteristic of the elemental urban suffixes with a European flavor.

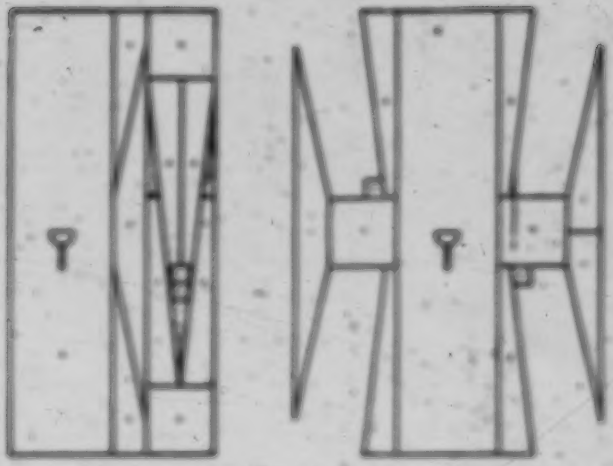


Fig. 10. Construction of form a smock length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's tunic, scale 1:10.

a. the body, b. the two sleeves, c. the two forepart-cloth, one of them worn regularly from mid-pleats, d. the four side gores, e. the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 11).

The production of plainwork garments. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[1] from abroad for sale in the city of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, C. 2302a-d). The material garments like jackets and caftans are made by hand tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[2]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, gaz, (E. 227). This is a round stick, 0.330 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-tunics and tunics are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and caftan most economically the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the home tailors. When cutting-out the tunic the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the cone to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Following[3] writers of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes or the Irish used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the fore.

[illegible] [illegible]

301 Jewellery. Jewellery in various forms belongs to women's clothing. It is an element in the ensemble [illegible] of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to women's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish women's costume of to-day.

301 Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap-shin chain, *Zir-cîne* or *Lewanik*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin or the cap of the fur to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be seen on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2301), 0.50 m. long. There existed circular temple-ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of coins and silver objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet lockets were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *Mîz*, (E. 2292) with attached coins[1]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, chains of coins being worn on or sewn [illegible] on the fur (E. 2288) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited to witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository.

301 Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *bâzin*, (E. 2296-97)[2] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *hâmalay* (E. 2298) or *sulhalîn* (E. 2291), plain necklaces of 39 fragrant beads of dried clover, *sirtuk*, (E. 2299), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Women's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side on a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[3]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Tergawar by one woman with a specially long, pleated fur tunic and a hood. These women wore across the head a triple silver chain ornament with turquoise, *gerrab* (E. 2296).

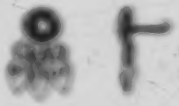


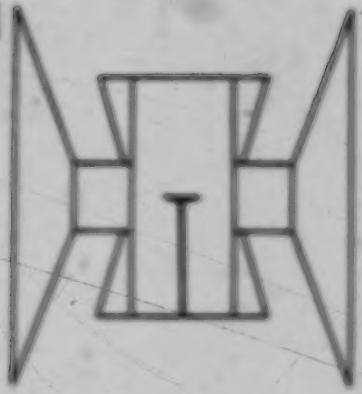
Fig. 48. Nose ornament for women (E. 2300).
Worn on a hole in the left nostril. Tergawar. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachments, *Mamâne*, (E. 2302) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be like [illegible] or like glass beads (E. 2307). Superstitious and Weltanschl, p. 156), but also of more precious metals. Nose ornaments of gold, plaited and knob into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little crescent with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2303), the same type being called by the Arabs *Kâf*[1]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that fall down with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have diligently sewn its chief ornament and amulet chain, *Kâlak* (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small representation of a dagger's handle.

Fig. 74. Left: man's dress of Sumaqiyan type. Right: man's dress of Bakhtiaran type.
Fig. 75. Man's dress of Bakhtiaran type. The tassel-shaped cuffs of the shirts are turned round the arms.

The elements of men's dress, familiar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a woman costume[1]. Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Soleimaniyeh region, the other of the district around Sumaqiyeh.

Kurdish elements. Shirt, Iraq, (E. 214) is made of plain, white cotton material. Its cut is a rectangular gusset-cuffed[2], 0.80 m. long and a span of 1.50 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.47 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.30 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in tassel-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress[3]. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.24 m. and hang down 1.20 m. The long gussets exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirtle. Just as with the woman's dress, these tassel-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the gussets worn above the skirt, and wound around



[illegible]

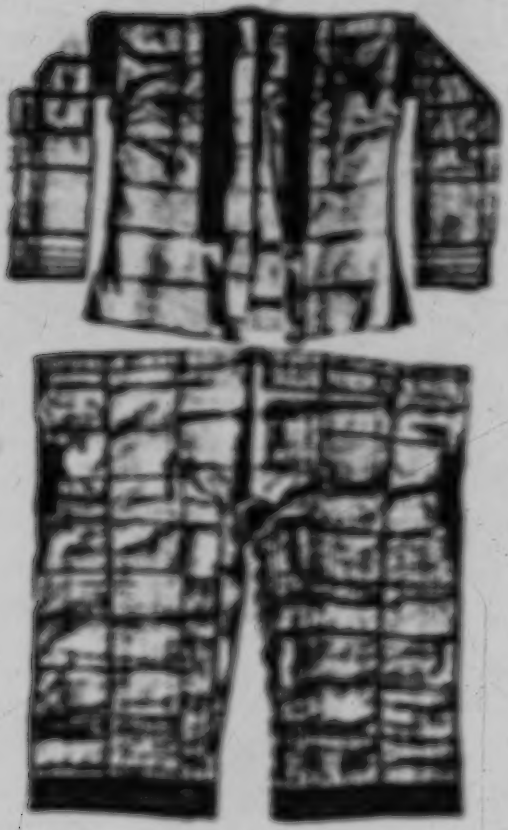
Fig. 13. Man's jacket and trousers (E. 2314) + no of Sakkanani type.

coupled with the many seams, produces a plastic decoration of the uniformly coloured and otherwise unembellished material. In shape, cut and size this type of trousers is exactly like the dresses above described, that is to say of "peg top cut" so that the latter act as a lower lining to the former.

Jacket, (fig.). From the Sakkanani area (E. 2314a) composed of 30 lengths of material were together, each of which has two sharp longitudinal creases. In cut the jacket is a shortened poncho-cotton with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body. Like the skirt the jacket is fitted with a low collar. Its length is 0.60 m., its span 1.20 m. The sleeves are 0.30 m. wide, slit from the bottom and there lined with coarse silk, whilst the rest of the garment is unlined. In cool weather the man might wear a waistcoat, Mo-Pulu, under the jacket and above the skirt, or a padded vest, ovenal, closed in front by buttons. Elsewhere, I had an opportunity to inspect these garments closely.

Trousers, ralali, from the Bumaniku district (E. 2315a). The material is yellowish-brown hemp cloth, a mixture of wool and hemp, woven 0.30 m. broad and unpleated after weaving. The material

241



In this variety, devoid of longitudinal seams, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machine embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rounded shaped gusset is not quite narrow (see diagram), so that the crotch is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European women's trousers[1], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of 0.80 m. at the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of 0.40 m. for the other type. The length, 0.90 m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is 2.00 m. 241

Jacket, child. From the Komandov area (E. 2222b). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sakin small size hat, like the trousers belonging to it, made of brownish woven, smooth European material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of 2 lengths of material, 2 less no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is 0.70 m., span 1.72 m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn much down low, the trousers and the girdle-cord at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad cloth twisted several times around the waist.

Belt, plaited, is about 4.00 m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the belt can be fastened with [illegible] (E. 2317, length 3.20 m.), of woven velvet (E. 2333, length 3.00 m.), or of basically-flowered cotton material. They are sold by Sindoro in the city, for example in Sokotoland.

[191]

[283]

[284]

[DEST Continues TOP of P. 94 -- Analyst]

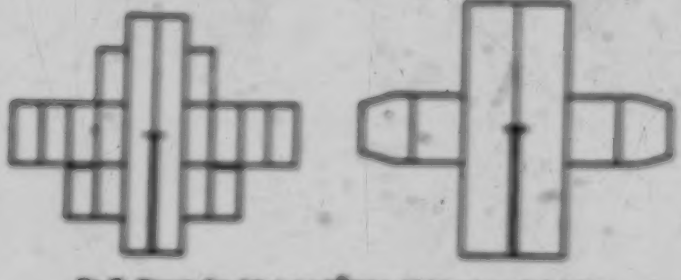
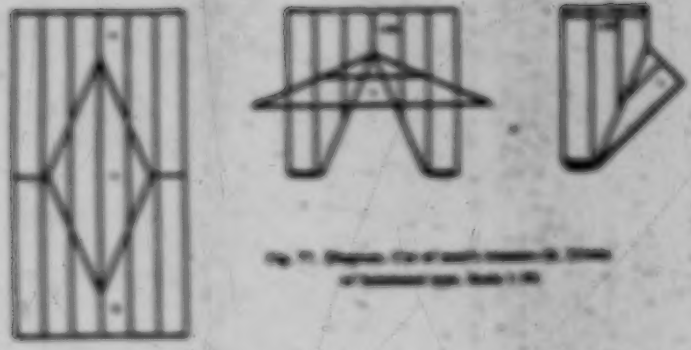
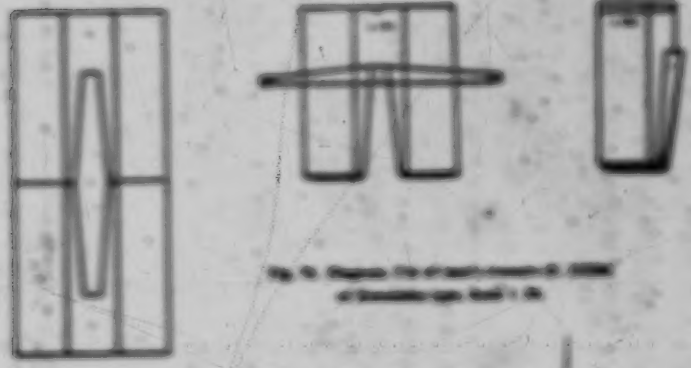


Fig. 13. Diagram [illegible] of the jacket of [illegible] type. Scale 1 : 40.
Fig. 14. Diagram [illegible] of jacket (E. 2222a) of Komandov type. Scale 1 : 40.





[illegible]

Fig. 31. Foreleg, worn, left, median diagram (X. 2.5); worn, right, rear view (X. 2.5); hind, left, the side of the claw is worn from wings of tibia; hind, right, rear of basitarsus (X. 2.5) for holding the wings; hind, left, the basitarsus wing combined and hidden (X. 2.5).

291 copper bosses, 0.175 m. long, marks, (E. 2272/P), dated on the outside and ending at the top with a knob. The strips are then placed side by side and a leather strap is drawn through them making a rule which is given a crocheted appear of white cotton yarn. 2 pairs of leather bracelet take each end of the rule pressure it against wear. These cloth shoes is made in the city, one man producing the rule, another the appear. In the area I visited the shoes and crossers cloth shoes were made by the craftsmen in the city at Tunella (cf. fig. 76).

Men's headdress, like women's, is a cap with a turban cloth wound round it.

The cap, d'Bel*, could be of crocheted cotton yarn (E. 2233), of black and white (Black yarn (E. 2244) worn with a pointed crown and side pieces of coarse cotton material (E. 2234), or have a flat crown and be decorated with coloured silk and gold embroidery (E. 2236) in medium a line examples. The cap or skullcap, which is not a fez like the women wear, can be worn alone. However, or to properly dressed the cap should always be smothed in a rectangular hand cloth, fringed at the edges*, folded diagonally. This is twisted into a roll the thickness of an arm and from the man's neck wound around the head from right to left, the one end hanging down. The other end is pushed into the convolutions. The turban, the fringes of which hang down over forehead and neck, could be arranged in more or less pillow form.

Turban cloth, sadri (*) or tighal*, may be of cotton or silk. As example can be mentioned a cloth (E. 2249) of black and light-grey silk, 1.28 m. x 1.60 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long knotted into tassels on the two long sides. A cloth (E. 2251) of cotton and grey silk, 1.27 m. x 1.80 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long hanging loose on the two long sides. Turban cloths, known as jamaa (E. 2227) of European black and white chequered cotton material, 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. with fringes on all four sides—the same cloth that Arabs wear folded diagonally.

In addition to the male dress here reviewed a felt waistcoat, known as jibbeh (E. 2238) is worn by shepherds, amongst others. This is perhaps the "jacket" mentioned by Edmonds—"a felted waistcoat worn over the jacket"[1]. This felted waistcoat is unsewn*. It is laid out and cross together with seams, but as no way modified. Its length is 0.57 m. Where worn the arms protrude through holes at the arm pits, whilst the fastenings of short arms stick out like flat flaps resting on the man's shoulders.

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291 Foreign elements of men's dress. The woollen cloth sulfan, also a characteristic feature of Arab male dress, is not worn by the men (though made of black silk). It is the cover dress worn by Kurdish women, however the Kurds I only saw the Arab sulfan, which, worn by a single wife and a couple of old dudes in Sheikh and Sinjar. It therefore cannot be said to be a regular element of men's dress in Southern Kurdistan.

Characteristically opposed to the Arab sulfan common that hides the legs and the trousers, (Bahr*), worn exclusively, provided a kurdish only is not worn, Kurdish men's dress, like that of the Turks, is definitely a trouser habit. This has given rise to the Kurd's nickname for the Arabs: "The trouserless"[2].

On the other hand the long Arab tunic worn in striped materials is habitual as an element of Kurdish male dress, but only as a loose and dangling garment worn above the single Kurdish trousers. It is only worn amongst more dudders.

[illegible]

Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pockets was worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into them beside the sewing and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a lapel jacket had been added.

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish waistcoat in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's underclothes[1]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pyjamas (cf. p. 37). As in the cultured pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pyjamas become a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 20 year old brother rose from his pallet in pyjamas, took his coat in the blind we then ran to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and right hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same original attire.

In Kurdish male dress pyjamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pyjamas worn by the district's young son at Topzawa. The uncle, the 12 year old Hasan Khalo, said me that this Western habit was only about 12 years old, and that personally he was an admirer of it as it was so convenient to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, clumsy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pyjamas, as one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the villages.

Many were no boldness with European clothes. Nor did I see any man wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[2]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were in gray, they mixed the native cloth amongst the shaft cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[3]. The somewhat non-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, substituted as regard to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern.

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the home, and always lay ground in a singularly reversed way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were put to take off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus combined with the admirable custom that however dusted never came into contact with rugs and mats. In the case may this kind of footwear made it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's position on the floor or to down the legs-up under one when sitting in chair or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[4].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[5], as type also to the Turkish[6], followed the example set by the

Fig. 91. Fish ornament (E. 1936), cup (E. 1918) surrounded by various steels (E. 1931), and sword (E. 1918).
Fig. 92. Knives and swords. From left to right: E. 1940 with E. 1936, E. 1934, E. 1940 with E. 1941. Between the ornamentation with gold and silk (E. 1934).

291 ...tance in shipping the bronze contents, by dismantling the long vellum in former of short metalwork and jackets, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the silver grave that could be tied round an object, the metal ends to which a cloth handle could be snuffed on, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 ...accessories to the costume, corresponding to the omissions of women, were pocket knife with bone handle (E. 1977) and the curved dagger, *wakizashi*, with sheath, 0.39 m. 0.40 m. long, the styles of which varied according to the mansion and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 1982, 0.400 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a detailed sorting on top; E. 1980, 0.239 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 1984, 0.340 m. long with silver sheath and handle ornament with lacquerwork). The proper chain or rosary, *dzuka*, composed of 54 beads was wound round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of bone or other material, many (Ind. being mounted (E. 1981 of horn; E. 1984 of bone). As a rule the proper chain is carried between the fingers when

for young men wearing European clothes. Only by means of the creases indicating between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans.

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not infrequently

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Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the village consisted of a small bride with arms long, pointed sleeves, a padded jacket, fichu, of flowered cotton material (S. 2226) or silk, and a cord-draped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sock-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the home I saw a boy of about 4 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (S. 2228a, c, f, d). The same infant I saw on a wedding visit (although normally [illegible] in a dress of rose and light-blue calico (S. 2228b).

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short trousers, striped,

Fig. 43. Children's dress in the village Tsajnsen.

Fig. 47. The stationary cradle: a two-shaped bed suspended from a beam. Kabardians.
Fig. 48. The transportable cradle: a hammock hung over the transverse beam. Tajiks.

are a cradle of this type in use at Andkhui, near the Iranian border. On top of the stand, under the mattress, lies a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (S. 1948). This is used by the Ujgurs, Penjkent[47]. A quite similar cradle from the Tarkars of the Chinese is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a ring stand and some rods. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[48].

The two other patterns of cradle in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from the four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A peg is tied underneath the child which it rides up as soon as it walks.

The stationary cradle is a hammock constructed into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, two-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the bars, which swings from side to side, sometimes stone, sticks or rags, is fastened a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and dearer children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress laid on the floor, just like an adult. A similar two-shaped bed (S. 772) has been brought back from Pushtu speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a flexible wooden frame, 0.80 m. × 0.35 m. × 0.30 m. with bars and sides of wickerwork and a sack-like suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle as in Kurdish here is also found with the Chamir[49] and Georgians[50] in the Caucasus. Rivet[51] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[52] and in Turkey[53]. Besides mentioned

chests, high-legged, six-sided tables and chairs, while the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '50s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and her few personal non-purchased items, the 400 Dhs. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 130 Dhs. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his evening to-be his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, wash, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a handembroidered silk cloth[14], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for brides, three of the bridegroom's male relatives received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of trousers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, while the other five shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of trousers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were cut and quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English goods was purchased for this purpose, being sent over to the home by a countryman who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit to her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 40 Dhs. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Dhs.; bride's family 140 Dhs., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until the left.

Rey mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village sellers in Sulaimani in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[15] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[16]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts costing about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

179 Marriage preparations

Dan not mention that the men must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he list the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid to bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[17], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

Wedding preparations. Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the town. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she sewn one kirtle, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, also a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the skirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived to under to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a night steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[17]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Bedouin, a solution of zinc and arsenic[17] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Habb Ghâssoul", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after gently rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[18]. An Iranian place Lane[17] refers to a depilatory, "rusmâl", composed of quicklime, sweet soap about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, remaining the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

This removal of hair in my interpreter's family then took place in the home with the help of razor, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[19]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[20].

In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connection with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that on each of the bride grasped her by the legs and the sat cross-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with quilted sleeves - a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a tight jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurdish

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[6], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[7] of interrupting the worshipper.

Lorch[8] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 95. Women praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. Balkan.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hans MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young women herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and menarche in this connexion were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married women than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4]. [815] 818

Sefuw among the Kurds. "They are *kuppa*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qā'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Sheikhān, lying in the valley between Chawraband and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that as far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 995

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandi[6], Naqshbandiyya[7], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Muhammed Baha-ud-Din or Baha-uddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Mawlana Khalid *of the Jaf* tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[8], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of sodium. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 995 391

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim *of* Sheikhān, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have reconstituted or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dawn of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 995 831

Rag trees and rag poles

Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices. Two different religious survivals could be seen in Kandiaroa. The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Hubidja. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a man's bone, with a holy hand axe beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sokimanei. Conversations elicited from here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were planted within a compass at the burial ground at Tiguanna, similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Nakawa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sokimanei-Chanchamai road in the vicinity of Sokimanei. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 130. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave, Hubidja. The woman wearing shell and beadwork.

bottom, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Wilkins refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le rouge de la Kurde est souvent avec une nuance foncée rouge pour que . . . les joues de sa vie Kurdiste qui commencent même rougir (c'est-à-dire honnête)".[4] Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as it also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it never can be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[5], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that match up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Crawford in the case of Palestinian Arabs[6]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sack, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a saffron hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the saffron-coloured veil was used in the other Sanjakian millets.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent nuptial "bridal" veil, used in the humble village millets, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the actual educated and emancipated urban millets (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the assembly were more closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[7].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's ear is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil was in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an upper-most over-garment, the Arab abā worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Russia in 1928 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the outer-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognized by it[8].

Sura 24, verses 30-31[9] of the Quran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

ent be exterminated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Court House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. The simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting: it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Court House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish standpoint is the upkeep of the Court House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Court House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the meat (a milk product similar to yoghourth) it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Court House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though enjoying better quality materials than the commoner, which mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their unwonted pastoral habits rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Bapir was once wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowandiz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple clothe produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for 'frills and furbelows' - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by [illegible] the Administration, after the Great War.

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute bask (see later).

R Roosevelt G-6 (1946-1947) 1947 MAIL Kurd MAIL
Mahabad

[777] 648 they did once, in 1946, invite the leading sghos to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmiah, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, stronghold to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jalilov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.* This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

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* Kurdish dress consists of a rounded turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy gray pants of homespun wool, and a huge sheepskin greatcoat, customarily fastened in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians, [illegible] on shoulder their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied occupation, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are surprisingly handsome and a poor man among them would rather spend his last penny on a fine sash than on a good ticket. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

• 291
184
556
578

[illegible] blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

As the sun peeped over the rugged mountains the blankets moved again and more rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waist-band; they also disappeared silently below.

I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "Ahde!" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

The night has ended. [illegible] awoke.

[text continued on p. 363(B)]

[p. 362(A)]

A Kurdish sufee, or mystic, from Persian Kurdistan. Short and stocky, he has the gait of a man who was able to ride before he could walk

• Afri

The two elder sons of Hamsa Rashid, Agha of Nerik, who entertained the author with a moving account of the bombing of their village

[illegible]

• 291 •

Above: Hagit as the Jew recruited from Addis Ababa, who would one day rule as the Queen of Sheba and is pictured in more troubled times Elizabeth in London

A Kurdish plough: as of old it is made from a forked tree, cut with one long limb and one short, to form a wooden hook. This is dragged through the ground by a pair of oxen. The ploughman welcomed the chance of shewing off his child